

Documentation of  
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in San Francisco

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY IS THE TENDERNESS OF THE PEOPLE !



We are here from Germany and some of us are active in the campaign "500 years of colonialism and resistance" in Germany. We work for a new consciousness about the 500 years of European domination and a renewed commitment to fight for the freedom for the German political prisoners and against their conditions. From this basis, we are looking for international solidarity, unity, and inspiration.

In Germany, there are 32 prisoners who define themselves as political prisoners. All of them are in solitary confinement, a few in three small groups of 3 prisoners. They continue to struggle together for their freedom and until this time for joint confinement in one or two large groups.

18 prisoners come out of the armed clandestine struggle (Red Army Fraction, RAF) and 14 from different resistance struggles.

Irmgard Moeller is the longest held political prisoner, arrested in 1972 and convicted of destroying the US-military headquarters in Heidelberg (West-Germany). The successful target of this attack was the US-computer, responsible for coordinating the bombing in Vietnam.

Irmgard is the only prisoner who survived the attack of German secret services on political prisoners in Stammheim prison on Oct. 18, 1977. Her comrades Gudrun Ensslin, Andreas Baader and Jan Carl Raspe were assassinated in their cells, next to hers. She was stabbed across her throat, lungs and breasts, and left for dead. All 4 of the murdered political prisoners were former members of the RAF.

In the late 60s, a lot of people began to look for ways to fight against the US-imperialist war inside our own country. The governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and other West European states have worked closely together with the US in their imperialist strategy.

Even today we think that the best way to build solidarity with oppressed nations from Vietnam, Palestine and Nicaragua to South Africa, Kurdistan and other countries is to fight against the power structures inside of Germany.

Over the last twenty years, the west-german anti-imperialist and other resistance movements have gone through different phases of struggle. Throughout this time the west-german government has never stopped in its attempt to destroy us with repressive tactics similar to the US-COINTELPRO.

At this moment we are faced with many unanswered questions including the "New World Order", the rising right wing, and new strategies for community organizing.

In this context, last April the RAF declared a break in armed activities for the present time:



# TO ALL WHO ARE LOOKING FOR WAYS TO ORGANIZE AND TO PUSH THROUGH A HUMAN LIFE IN DIGNITY HERE AND WORLDWIDE ON REALLY CONCRETE ISSUES



This is what we are looking for as well. There are thousands of questions on the table that scream for a solution, if these problems are not soon faced and solved they will lead humanity into the catastrophe. They are caused by the capitalistic principle that only profit and power have a value and that people and nature are subservient to it.

Since 1989 we, the RAF, have started thinking and speaking more intensively about the fact that it can't go on as before for us and for everybody who has a history of resistance in the FRG. We have come to the conclusion that it is a question of finding new definitions for a policy able to push through real changes for the life of people today and to tear away the definition of real life from the rulers completely in the long run. To this aim it is necessary to see one's own and the common history of everybody in the resistance, to think about what we have done wrong and what important experiences we or others made, and what meaning these experiences could have for the future.

The starting point was:

1. The fact that we all faced a completely changed situation in the relations of power world-wide - the desintegration of the system of socialist states, the end of the "Cold War". We were confronted with the fact that the idea of a break through for liberation in the common international fight did not materialize. The liberation struggles were all too weak to beat an imperialism expanding its warfare on all levels.

The collapse of the socialist states which was caused basically by unresolved internal contradictions has had catastrophic effects for millions of people throughout the world. It has thrown back all people fighting for liberation onto themselves.

However through it the necessity has become clear for everybody once again that the liberation struggles can only be developed out of the awareness of the people for their own special history out of the authentic conditions and aims. And only out of this a new international force can grow.

A lot of comrades from the Third World have brought this into discussions and there they have found the beginnings of a completely new politics and they have put it into practice. We will also do this here, by this we are connected to them.

2. we ourselves have been confronted by the fact, that, by the way we practiced our politics in the years before 1989, we became politically weaker instead of getting stronger. For various reasons we have less and less

been able to develop any attraction for the people here, attraction that would have made common activity possible.

We recognize it as a central failure that we have made too few steps towards the people who also stood up here. And we didn't make steps at all toward those who hadn't stood up yet.

We recognized that we have to look for the people and that it can't go on as it was before that we as guerillas take all the decisions by ourselves and that the others take their bearings from us. We often formulated this in a different way, but that was the reality. We have very much reduced our politics to attacking imperialist strategies. The search for immediate positive aims and for a way, how a social alternative can begin to exist here and today, was missing. The experiences, that others obtained by fighting, showed us that it is possible that such a thing can be started here.

But our relations to those people who were closed to us, were first of all determined by the aim to attack together. Therefore there was no room in this definition for them to develop and to live out their own social values in their everyday-lives together with lots of others. Only by that could we have come to a common politics, which could have shown more people, including those who live outside the various scene-ghettos, that the coldness and powerlessness within imperialism are neither destiny nor natural laws, but end where people put their needs and their solidarity into practice starting to live this here and today.

Two years ago we drew the consequences from that and have since tried a parallel process of a new orientation and practical intervention.

We thought we could create a new relationship by ourselves by the way we chose our actions and by the way we talked, and so create the necessary requirements for a common discussion and by that the possibility for a common perspective together with a lot more people and groups.

It was a mistake that we didn't mediate our process clearly, but only fragmentary in our communiques and letters as a result of our discussion.

And this is only a start and soon we will talk about everything more thoroughly.

After these two years we understood that this wasn't enough and that in this way we couldn't make room for what we consider as most important now and in the immediate future:

The common discussions and the forging of links between different groups and people, which has been necessary for so long, starting

from the point, where the people live, from the daily lives of the people in society which drives many to take their situation into their own hands and search for solutions together with other people.

We think such links may become a basis of the power, which we called counterpower from below and which doesn't yet exist in this way. As long as such an alternative to destruction and desperation within the system can't be experienced, the number of those excluded and standing alone without any perspective, dying of heroine or driven into suicide etc. will increase. And more and more people will follow the fascists.

Out of our experiences and our discussions with comrades concerning all these issues we are now sure that the guerilla can't be in the centre of this building process.

At the moment lethal actions targeting on the leaders of the state and economy can't promote the process that is necessary now because they lead the whole situation to escalate for everything, which has just started to grow and for all who are searching.

The quality of such attacks presupposes clarity about what concrete changes they can set into motion. There can't be this clarity now, at a time when for everybody it's all about finding a new basis for themselves. In this way we also understand the criticism of some, that by these actions we presume the result of the process.

**WE HAVE DECIDED TO WITHDRAW  
THE ESCALATION ON OUR PART.**

**THAT MEANS THAT WE WILL STOP  
OUR ATTACKS ON LEADING REPRESENTATIVES OF ECONOMY AND  
STATE FOR THE PROCESS THAT IS  
NOW NECESSARY.**

This process of discussion and building the counterpower from below includes the struggle for the freedom of the political prisoners as a vital part.

After 20 years of state of emergency against the prisoners, torture and annihilation it is now time to enforce their right to live - to obtain their freedom by fighting!

In January, the minister of justice, Kinkel, announced the release of some of the prisoners who are unfit for imprisonment and of some who have been imprisoned for the longest time. This was the first time they have admitted that there are factions in the establishment who have understood that they cannot gain a grip on social contradictions and resistance by means of police- and military repression.

They have wanted to annihilate the prisoners



for more than 20 years. Kinkel announcement poses the questions whether the state is willing to give up its annihilation-strategy against everybody who is fighting for a self-determined life. The strategy against those who don't capitulate in the face of the power of money, those who formulate and live out their own interests and aims against the interest of profit.

This Kinkel-initiative poses the question whether the state grants room for political solutions (and if there are representatives of economy putting the government under pressure to that effect, this can only be good).

We will look closely to see how serious the Kinkel-initiative is. As yet not much has happened except from Claudia Wannersdorfer being released just a few month before her official release. The others who are unfit for imprisonment - Günter Sonnenberg, Bernd Rössner, Isabel Jacob, Ali Jansen - are still imprisoned. Also Irmgard Moeller is still imprisoned after more than 20 years. Up to now the conditions in prison didn't become any better.

The hearings of Norbert Hofmeier, Baerbel Perau and Thomas Thoene, after they were

THE PRISONERS UNFIT FOR IMPRISONMENT AND THOSE IMPRISONED FOR THE LONGEST TIME MUST BE RELEASED AT ONCE! ALL THE OTHER ONES MUST COME TOGETHER UNTIL THEIR RELEASE!

It is an important turning point if something moves in this direction in the near future, everybody will be able to see in which direction the train will run; whether the faction in the establishment gets its way that accepts the need to make concessions for a political solution, or the one of the concrete-heads and iron-eaters.

This will not only become obvious from the states behaviour towards the political prisoners. There are other focuses, where this turning point will be immediately apparent. There where fights have already been able to win room it will be quickly obvious to what extend they will accept political solutions or want to wage war. For example, whether they still want to wage war against people from Hafenstraße, Hamburg, after 10 years of fighting. However in the long term a lot of other things are important:

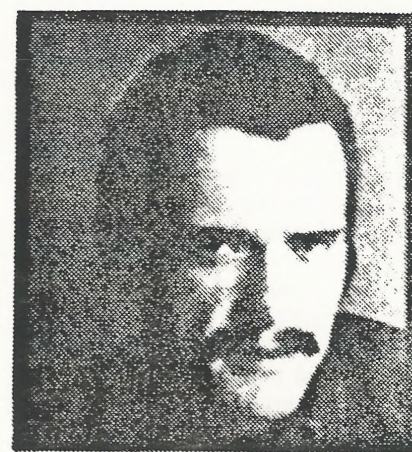
is itself producing all the time.

- For a long time now it is reality that the cops protect the fascists and beat up the antifascists, that they chase demonstrators to the death, for example Conny Wissmann (*Anti-fascist activist woman who was chased into a car by the police in Göttingen in 1989*) and that they shoot at demonstrators, for example a few month ago in Frankfurt, and torture refugees with electro-shocks etc. - It is the question whether german soldiers will march again against other peoples and how long fascists regimes can go on massacring the populace with the weapons and support from here.

Above all it will be decided mainly by the way struggles can be developed for all these questions in the society - and of course this is not a complete list - whether and to which extend room for political solutions here can be won by fighting.

At no point will they retreat of their own accord. For this social pressure and fighting for our demands will always be necessary to achieve this.

With our withdrawal of the escalation we have made a step to open up this political space.



Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Jan-Carl Raspe

in prison 2/3 of the time of their sentences, were like inquisitions. Angelika Goder is threatened with being sent to prison although she is ill. The announcement of new trials against some prisoners following statements by state-witnesses expresses the ice-cold need of the state for revenge. It reveals their aim to bury the prisoners forever in jail.

Referring to the ministry of justice in Stuttgart, the newspaper "Welt" formulated the unbroken will of annihilation: If they were to decide (*the ministry of justice and "Welt"*) Günter Sonnenberg, who is unfit for imprisonment for more than 15 years, would only be released if he submits to the repressive harassments in prison without resistance. He is called a "recalcitrant prisoner", because he shows solidarity and keeps contact with his friends. In this way they make propaganda against his release. All this stands in direct contradictuin to a really different position that's beginning to emerge on the part of the state.

- There are the fights of social prisoners against special prison-conditions and in general against the inhuman conditions in prisons. It must not happen that the political prisoners get out of the extermination blocks and others take their place.

All isolation blocks must be closed!

- There are the fights for centres, for room to live and for housing for many, who don't have this here and now.

- It will become apparent from the extend to which the people of the former GDR continue to be squeezed as objects into the capitalist system or whether they can win ground by fighting to determine thier own development.

- It is an important question how long the state will be able to whip up the racism against refugees and treat them as "sub-humans", to deny the responsibility of itself and the economy for unemployment, the housing desaster, starving of the elderly etc. And how long it will be able to continue to send these people back to the misery that it

Now it is up to the state to react. And because today nobody knows how they are going to react, we want to protect the process of discussion and construction.

If they now mow down the people with their machine of destruction and repression, who are taking this process in hand and continue to wage war against the people below, then the period of our withdrawal of escalation is over - should this happen we will not watch from the side lines.

If they will not let us live, i.e. all the people who struggle for a humane society, they have to know that their elites cannot live either.

Even if it is not in our interest:

War can only be answered with war.



# MESSAGE TO THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL

by prisoners of the guerilla and resistance in Germany.  
September 21, 1992

To the participants of the International Tribunal "500 years of resistance against genocide, colonialism and political internment".

Here we send to you our warmest and solidarity greetings of the political prisoners in Germany. This tribunal will be an outstanding event in the history of 500 years of resistance against genocide and colonialism. It is integrated in a multitude of activities during this year, all over the world as an expression of the growing consciousness, that this continual history of extermination of human life can only be changed when we all join together internationally.

Today, with this consciousness and our experience from resistance, our pain and the sorrow of people, but mainly our hopes we can turn them into a common weapon: against the power of the elite, against the deeply inhuman system.

Also in Europe many people are involved in the "500-years-campaign". We hope that this will be the beginning of an intensive political work together, which will help us to receive answers for the questions urging all over. We'll only find real answers, when we carry our struggles for essential changes in an international context. Even if many problems seem to be, at first sight, limited regionally and nationally, the people of the 3 continents and those of the metropolis are confronted with the same basic problems. The globalized circumstances with which we are confronted today, require common answers in a situation in which the right to live is fundamentally called in question for the majority of the people in the world. It is a vicious circle of poverty and destruction of the natural living conditions and out of the current world market-structure. Our whole future and life depends on that we break through this circle by working together internationally; understanding and discussion is necessary between us, how to achieve a human perspective against the destructive world order. For that the experiences of the struggles have the same importance as the ideas to resolve these problems, which quo and we want to develop now. Our hope for the future is that there will be a development of intensive interrelationship on basis of mutual respect and solidarity. When we have had a visit in prison from Puerto Ricans, from members of the black community in the USA or members of the American Indian Movement and from Latin America, we could see numerous possibilities and richness materializing from this mutual respect and solidarity.

The liberation of the political prisoners and of the prisoners of war all over the world is one of the concrete political developments, on which this process will arise. In Western Europe there are more than 2,000 political prisoners. They are from struggles for self-determination and social revolution. Also in Europe the ruling classes are violating basic principles of international law and human rights. The legitimate struggles are declared as "terrorism". We, the political prisoners in Germany are part of the revolutionary struggles during the last 25 years; one of us, Irmgard Moller is in solitary confinement since 1972, sentenced because of armed attacks against the US-war in Vietnam. The internationalism, the solidarity and the common fight with the people in the south and the oppressed people of all continents is an elementary thing since our beginning. It is the basis of our politics and



practice, that makes the possibilities for changing ascertainable and real. And today we will resist as well any attempt to liquidize these politics. We are imprisoned because we are fighting to build up a revolutionary front in Western Europe, which is part of the international movement for radical change of the ruling system based on exploitation. Since 22 years the German State has tried to destroy us by all means, because we are holding on to our struggle; the state is doing this with special counterinsurgency-programs, criminalisation, solitary confinement etc. Our aims and our conditions of detention unite us with the political prisoners all over the world. At this stage we extend solidarity greetings to Leonard Peltier, Mumia Abu Jamal and Alejandrina Torres....!

In your appeal you say that this international tribunal will help to organize the next 500 years in a completely different way: that the world will live on through the solidarity of the people, in which their own cultural identity is free and all people will be able to share the rich resources of the earth by saving the environment. We, the political prisoners are part in this struggle and are involved in these discussions.

We are very conscious of the special responsibility in this development that the people have in the metropolis, and especially today while Germany is on its way to become a world power. During the last 10 years, the propagated victory of the "free market economy" has drastically intensified the misery of the majority of the people in the world and the economical, military and cultural attacks against them.

We are confronted very directly with the results of this terroristic policy against the poor people and against those who are pressed into a status as refugees. In Europe and specially in Germany now we can see once more an escalated racism that is stimulated by the state but spreading also inside great parts of the society. Europe is building up to be a fortress to keep the wealth for a small elite and to keep the standard of living for a decreasing number of the metropolitan society.

However, this violent attempt to find a way out of the capitalistic worldwide crisis will not be successful, because this system isn't able to give any future for the human race and a chance for the survival of the earth neither in the imperialistic states nor in the plundered and dependent nations.

The future is in our hands: the oppressed people, the people who are denied any voice in the world-development. We are the ones who will formulate our aims and our own conception for the worldwide social development, for our own live and future generations.

This tribunal is one step on the way forward.

Freedom now for all political prisoners and all prisoners of war worldwide !

21.9.92, the prisoners of guerrilla and resistance in Germany



The situation of the sick political prisoners who are unfit to be kept in prison:

We waged a successful campaign for the release of Guenter Sonnenberg (15 years in prison) and Claudia Wannersdorfer (8 years in prison) this year. Three more sick prisoners remain inside. They are:

Isabel Jacob: she got "Morbus Basedow", a disease of the thyroid gland because of the detention conditions. Her release was refused a few weeks ago.

Ali Janssen: he is sick because of asthma, which became worse due to the detention conditions. In spring 1992, the court refused his release.

Bernd Roessner: he is sick because of 17 years of solitary confinement.

Because his case is the most serious, all of the political prisoners have decided not to do any legal steps for their own release until Bernd is out.

(This reminded us of the declaration of the political prisoners and POWs here in the US last summer - specifically that of Mumia Abu Jamal.)

Bernd Roessner is a prisoner from the RAF. He was arrested 1975 after the occupation of the German embassy in Stockholm (Sweden) with the demand for the freedom of the German political prisoners. Together with the others of the "Kommando Holger Meins" (RAF), who did this action, he was delivered up to the FRG. He got a life-sentence.

For 17 years, he has been exposed to an extremely hard isolation-program in detention. Because of these conditions his energies of resistance are exhausted. There is only a chance for him to survive if he is released immediately without having to abjure/deny like the German government demands from him.

The state delayed his release for a long time but now they announced that the federal President will amnesty him after a lot of activities demanding his release. He will be free in the middle of October if the President does what he has promised.

At the time of his amnesty the other prisoners will continue to focus on their common demands:

- the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners, who are in prison 2/3 of their sentence or more than 15 years
- the immediate release of all sick prisoners
- freedom for all political prisoners in a visible term of 2 years; and for the time up to their release joint confinement in two large groups.

Freedom for Bernd and all sick prisoners!

For the life and the freedom of the political prisoners!



On the 7th of September the first of seven trials began against prisoners of the RAF on the basis of testimonies of chief witnesses. These witnesses are former RAF members and they got imprisoned in the former GDR, where they lived after they left the RAF about 10 years ago. Except for one woman, all of them want to buy an early release by collaborating with the state. By drawing a wrong public picture of the organization and activities of the RAF, and by incriminating depositions against the former comrades who are in prison now, the german state will use this to hold these prisoners longer than they have already been sentenced. Some of them would have been released soon.

The law for the Chief-witnesses is a law from 1989 and one of the numerous so-called special "anti-terrorist" laws.

Christian Klar, prisoner from the RAF, is the first who is being confronted with these trials. He has already spent 10 years in prison, most of the time under the torture of solitary confinement. He is sentenced to 6 life-sentences.

His trial must be suspended!!!

All trials, based on the chief-witnesses' depositions against prisoners of the RAF must be suspended!!!

- 5 -



*Christian Klar am 7. 9. im Stammheimer Prozeßbunker*



# For the life and the freedom of the political prisoners!

## Debate about the release of prisoners out of RAF and resistance in the FRG

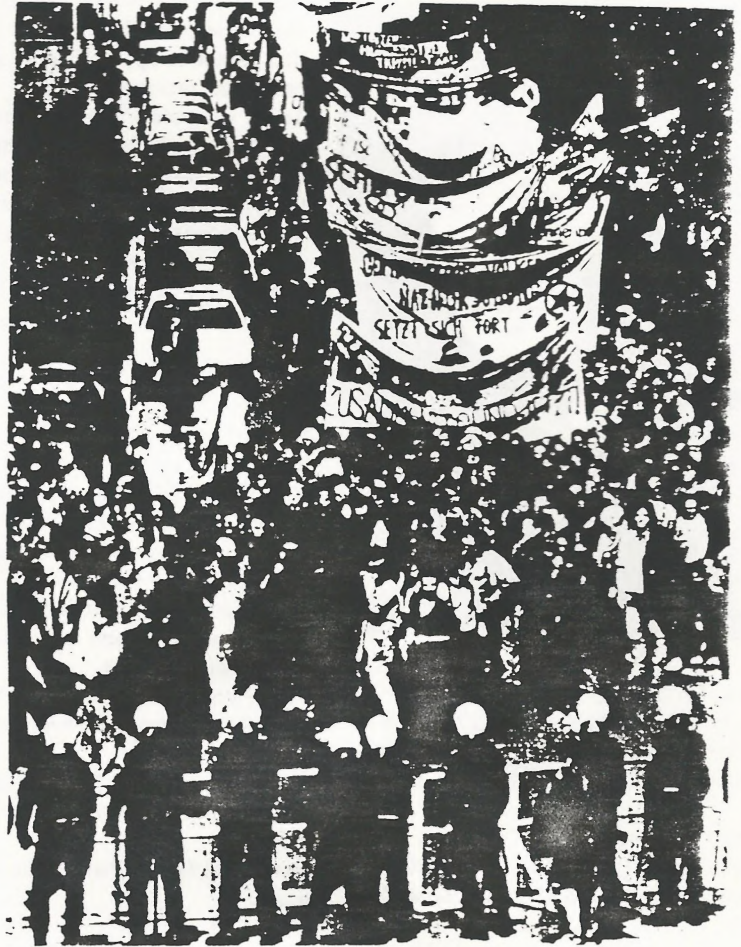
Since the 1989 hungerstrike of the prisoners of RAF and resistance there is besides their demand for joint confinement in large groups their demand for their release, combined with the discussion about redetermination of revolutionary policy. At that time the government didn't give way in spite of a big mobilization in support of the prisoners demand. After the RAF continued their actions with regard to that, the security service had no "success" with their search and meanwhile industrialists circles press for a solution too, there was an official reaction for the first time at the beginning of this year.

The minister of justice, Kinkel, intimates the release of a part of the prisoners (for more exact informations see frame beside) and publicly admits the Unfitness for Imprisonment of some prisoners. Short time afterwards Claudia Wannersdorfer, prisoner of the resistance, was released. She was in prison and unfit for imprisonment since 7 years. Nothing else happened.

In April RAF declared to interrupt their actions against representatives of state and industrie to create room for the discussion about a political redetermination and for the Freedom of the prisoners. The prisoners joined this declaration. Thereupon the public discussion starts again, the RAF-declaration was published wide and now the prisoners get a chance to speak themselves. A TV-interview with the women imprisoned in Lübeck was broadcasted and interviews with newspapers were allowed. Günter Sonnenberg, whose release was struggled for since 15 years with a lot of hungerstikes and mobilizations is outside at last.

Now it has to continue:

Freedom for the prisoners of RAF and Resistance!!!  
and until that: Joint Confinement in large groups!!!



### The initiative of the state

At the beginning of this year it was declared by the highest political-judiciary level, by the minister of justice Kinkel, that: "...the vicious circle between conditions of detention, solidarity - and recruiting-measures and then new assassinations has to be broken through... The state will prove that he treats the RAF-prisoners alike any others. And that means: After 15 years of detention a review for those who had been condemned for life, a review after 2/3 of the sentence for those who were sentenced for time in prison."

Only 8 prisoners were named in the medias: Bernd Rössner, since 17 years in prison, Günter Sonnenberg, since 15 years. Both are unfit to be kept in prison since a long time; Günter was seriously injured by a shot in his head during his arrest, and is unfit to be kept in prison since that time. In spite of his being unfit to be kept in prison the release of Bernd was refused after 15 years of detention as long as he doesn't renounce.

Three names from the group of prisoners who have done 15 years or more were mentioned arbitrarily: Irmgard Müller, 20 years of detention and the only surviving of the night of the Stammheim murder in 1977, Lutz Tauber, 17 years in prison and Christine Kuby (14 years). The other prisoners of this group got not mentioned. Further on 3 prisoners were mentioned whose time of detention is ending soon: Christa Eckes, 8 years, ending this June; Claudia Wannersdorfer, prisoner out of the resistance, who is also unfit to be kept in prison since a long time. She has been released now on the 13th of February, her remaining sentence of 9 months became imposed on 3 years on probation. And Karl-Friedrich Grosser, also prisoner out of the resistance, whose remaining sentence shall be imposed on probation too.

That means: This list of prisoners mentioned by the minister of justice Kinkel does neither include all prisoners who are unfit to be kept

in prison nor all the prisoners who have done 15 years or more.

Parallel to the whole public debate the state continued in dealing with the political prisoners and resistance according to the "normality" of the last twenty years: Further on there are visit bans and letter censorship on the grounds of the "illegal info-system", also the demand for re-groupement becomes criminalized again and again. The Federal German bar is preparing new trials against Sieglinde Hofmann, Ingrid Jakobsmeier, Rolf Clemens Wagner and Christian Klar on the basis of the purchased 'Kronzeugenaussagen' (States evidences statements) of the RAF-dropouts, arrested in GDR. Sieglinde and Ingrid both have time sentences and would be released in 1993 and 1995 respectively without the new charge. They shall be condemned to a sentence for life too by the new trials.



# DECLARATION OF THE PRISONERS OUT OF RAF AND RESISTANCE



The following text is a common declaration of the prisoners out of RAF and resistance written by Irmgard Möller, prisoner out of RAF.

Irmgard Möller is in prison since 1972, she is the political prisoner in FRG who is imprisoned for the longest time. She is the only survivor of the murder in the prison of Stammheim in 1977. She survived seriously injured whereas Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan Carl Raspe died.

Right away we want to say the following in short: The decision of our comrades is correct, it corresponds to what we, the prisoners, too are set on for the political process.

Already since 1989 we want an incision in the whole political coherence. A step like this cannot be approached by all involved only at the prisoners' level.

Today we realize very much clearer, as it was recognizable still in the midst of the 80th and was the first time tackled by us politically and put into a practice in the hungerstrike in 1989, that the global and the intra-social upheavels are so radical that they make it impossible for all to simply continue the policy and practice of the 70th and 80th.

Who sticks to the necessity of the revolutionary transformation of the worldwide and intra-social existing unjust and destructive conditions has to understand these upheavels and get to a redetermination of the own politics' content and forms, also in relation to the respective other left-wing experiences and ways of live.

For the present and "after the prison" we, the political prisoners, understand this as direct political target:

Reorientation in the society and in the international relations and coherences, a sincere process of learning.

Primarily this has to become reality for the four prisoners who are unfit to be kept in prison.

Bernd and Günter have to be released at once.

Only with their release there will be a rational element in the conflict between the political prisoners and the state again.

Thereby it is a matter of a more radical step for all who are involved.

An incision in contrary to the history of 22 years.

We are not unrealistic when we say:

We want a perspective of liberty for all of us in the foreseeable next future.

Also in our imagination this will not happen at once and not for all of us at the same time.

However we say very clearly:

For this, what for 22 years was decided also against the prisoners according to political considerations and to combat and annihilation criterias (from the special laws beyond the state-defence-courts to the details of isolation)

For this, what we as collective have fought ourselves through, nine of us prisoners have died in this struggle, but in its aims we have wrecked it,

this cannot be conveyed after these decades as a pseudo - normal procedure to a "solution".

Such a procedure would simply pass by reality and would be a mocking of all who have an idea of FRG's political history in the last 25 years that is different to the security apparatus and states-defence-justices idea. And they will not allow to be deprived of this political history.

History is no possession of the state, the official version of the state is not ours.

It will only work in the way to handle politically with social contradictions.

For that, we, the prisoners out of RAF and resistance and the RAF have opened the space.

This has nothing to do with "tactics".

Irmgard Möller

written for all prisoners out of RAF and resistance

Lübeck 15.4.92

## INTERVIEW

with Irmgard Möller

published in the german bourgeois-liberal magazine "Der Spiegel"

**Question:** On the 15th of May you have celebrated your 45th birthday in Lübeck-Laverhof prison, your 20th birthday behind bars. Which are the results of your longterm imprisonment on your physical condition?

**Irmgard:** Since I've been 25 I've been continuously in jail - the first years I've been completely isolated from other prisoners. Today everything is out of order, nothing is right. The skin is ruined. The circulation is totally ruined. The vegetative system is out of order. For a long time I suffered psychosomatic illness that turned into real illness then. I had headaches all the time.

**Question:** Do you feel mentally in form?

**Irmgard:** Now again. This was

different, especially during the first years when I was totally isolated. The isolation had for example consequences on one's capacity of thinking. If one makes no sensual experiences anymore, can't talk with anybody, the whole thinking will be changed respectively cutted. You have no associations anymore, you see no pictures anymore, everything is seperated, cut into pieces. Everything is in a mess and put on it's head.

**Question:** At what time did the symptoms go down?

**Irmgard:** When the isolation came to an end in 1980 as I was confined together with other RAF-prisoners as a collective. Here in Lübeck we are now four. Besides me Hanna Krabbe, who was captured at

the occupation at the German embassy in Stockholm 1975, Christiane Kuby who was captured in January 1976, who fought against that and since then is inside, and Gaby Rollnick from the "Movement 2. nd of June" who was moved to us in 1989.

**Question:** Your group is privileged. Until now most of the other RAF-prisoners have demanded in vain a joint confinement.

**Irmgard:** Also if there are four or three of us inside, it is isolation. We are missing the interchange with all political prisoners and the discussion with the peoples outside.

**Question:** Within the next month you could probably come out of prison. Klaus



Kinkel who was minister of justice in Bonn up to now has made a peace offer to the RAF and promised a soon release for you and other prisoners that you declare political prisoners. As a result the RAF has reacted with a temporary reunciation of violence. Has by that the escalation of violence finished that did cost more than 50 people on both sides of the law their lives during the last 20 years?

**Irmgard:** RAF wants to put it's policy on a new foundation. We want to create a very new political basis but not confront the peoples with escalations in the same moment.

**Question:** What does this mean in concrete? Do you rule out that you use armed actions to put through political aims? Does this reunciation of violence goes for you personally too?

**Irmgard:** Reun- ciation of violence sounds so institutional, so governmental. That expression is very foreign to me. But in the moment I can't imagine the use of violence neither out of the political situation nor out of my personal state.

**Question:** But that is a very restricted denial of violence. The political situation could change, your personal state also.

**Irmgard:** I cannot talk about what will be in 20 or 30 years. And you can't either. That's why I can't answer that question in another way.

**Question:** But RAF's attitude to violence remains being a central theme. The more the RAF shot and bombed, the more of the support of those that either speak up for social changes. Your former comrade in fight, Klaus Jünschke who was pardoned after 16 years in prison, claims that the RAF lost it's moral and political legitimization with the first shot.

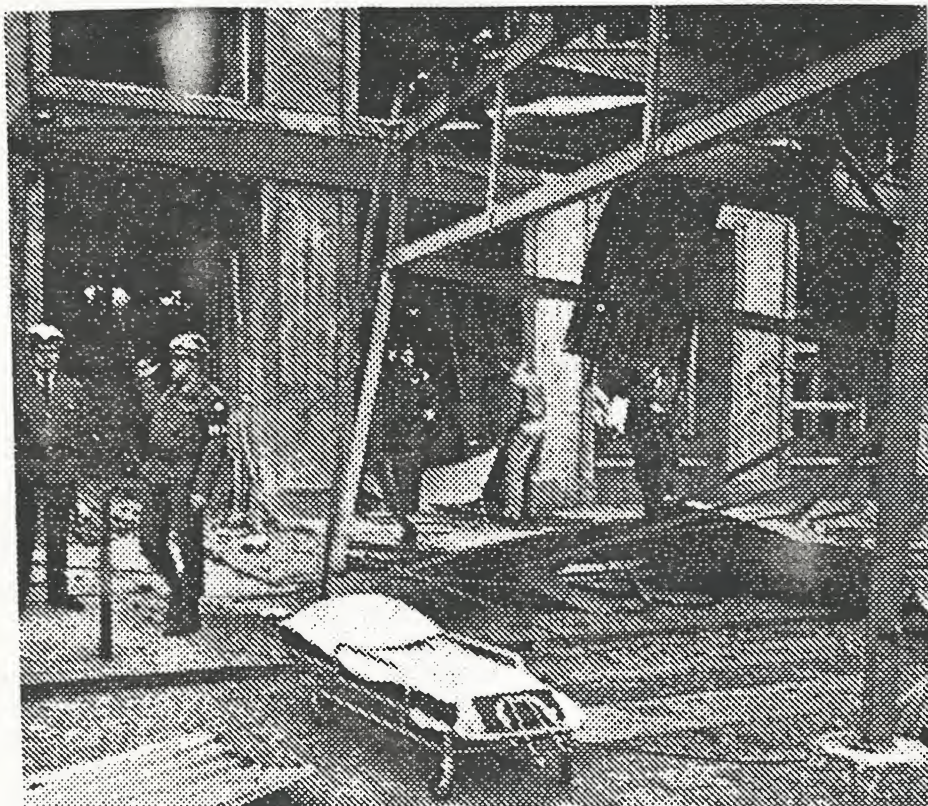
**Irmgard:** That's just not true. The armed struggle was legitimate.

**Question:** Beyond more you are sentenced because of the bombing of the US-headquarter in Heidelberg (during the war in Vietnam), at which 3 persons died and more were wounded. Do you

still consider this attack was justified? **Irmgard:** This attack I still consider was absolutely legitimate. At that time attacks on US-facilities were our most important initiatives. We attacked Heidelberg because the headquarter was the coordinating point of the US in the Vietnam war. From there the bombings of the vietnamese civil population were coordinated.

**Question:** And that the RAF wanted to stop with it's own terror bombing?

**Irmgard:** We wanted to show them that they cannot believe having a smooth back-up area anywhere. That could only



Headquarter of V. US - Corps in Frankfurt after RAF - attack

be broken up violently, not with a leavelet. It was just much too little, too little in view of the massacres and the genocide organized from here.

**Question:** From today's view do you also consider the attacks of the years after on German top representatives of state and business world to be justified.

**Irmgard:** I consider them to be legitimate. About that I have no doubt at all. The RAF doesn't stop these attacks because they wouldn't be legitimate but because they don't support the political process we have in mind.

**Question:** What you permanently call attack to almost all other citizens is simply murder.

**Irmgard:** Not to us because we haven't planned it as an individual murder but we understand it as an armed attack on the state.

**Question:** But with your so-called attacks on the state you've always hit persons of flesh and blood, with families and children.

**Irmgard:** Of course that's not easy and no joy. But because the state is abstract I don't see how at that time he could have been attacked in another way but through it's representatives. Today that has changed.

**Question:** But the RAF's assassinations have been continued up to the recent past. Still in 1989 f. ex., after the last big hungerstrike of the RAF-prisoners a RAF-commando has blown up the banker Alfred Herrhausen.

**Irmgard:** 1989 was a year of fundamental changes. With our hungerstrike we reached very new sections of the population, Christian groups f. ex., also people from the unions, that discussed about our terms/conditions of custody and our joint confinement. In the same time the political systems in the East broke apart. We have tried to react on these political questions at the same time. We've had new discussions about our conditions of custody, also talks with the state. At the same time

the RAF continued it's attacks...

**Question:**...and murdered Herrhausen.

**Irmgard:** What was the situation in 1989? Even before GDR's break-down Herrhausen had, unnoticed by the Left and the population in the West, planned how he could exploit the situation best and get everything inside his strongroom.

**Question:** From what did the RAF create the right to condemn someone to death?

**Irmgard:** From the certainty that the goal I'm fighting for too is not only mine but that of the majority of the people of the whole world. From the certainty, that it's right and justified to put an end to a system, to overthrow it, because it murders the majority of the people instead of letting them live.

**Question:** To us it seems as if the man on the street didn't even understand your speech not to talk of your actions.



**Irmgard:** I think our declarations weren't always written for him.

**Question:** Lasting for years you gave more the impression that your revolution should be carried by the majority of the population.

**Irmgard:** Right from the beginning it couldn't be the point for us to look for majorities. Here the populations consciousness was of that kind that only a minority could advance the revolutionary process.

**Question:** You have thought of yourselves as revolutionary avant-garde?

**Irmgard:** Yes, we did.

**Question:** Still today, do you think of yourselves in that way?

**Irmgard:** In their declaration the RAF has declared that at the moment we don't want to be avant-garde, don't want to be center of attention.

**Question:** The minister of interior Kinkel says that his initiative aims at reconciliation between state and it's worst enemy. A lot of your statements still sound completely irreconcilable.

**Irmgard:** It is not only the way that Mr. Kinkel has come to humane insights. This is just one small part of it. He has understood that he will never gain control of us in the old way.

**Question:** What do you mean by "old way"?

**Irmgard:** The way to criminalize us prisoners and to try to capture and clear up the militants outside.

**Question:** Doesn't mean the idea of reconciliation used by Kinkel absolutely nothing to you?

**Irmgard:** Anyhow we don't take it literally. Kinkel can't concile ourselves to the contents and forms of the system we have combatted. He has to accept that we are and will remain opposition and that we are not just some criminals they tried to make of us for 20 years. In this respect reconciliation is wrong.

**Question:** People have been killed or injured at your attacks. Are you sorry about this in the meantime? Is there something like regret?

**Irmgard:** I can't grasp this in a personal and individual manner at all.

**Question:** But we ask you personally, not as spokeswomen of a political group.

**Irmgard:** I can't think that way. I can't abstract and take apart the attacks in such categories.

**Question:** Others, like f. ex. your former militant-companion Werner Lotze who shot down a policeman in 1978, have

the motto: How can we most effectively bring our persons who give state's evidence into action for public relation work?

**Question:** Can you imagine to start a dialogue with relatives of RAF-victims like the brothers of Gerold von Braunmühl, killed by RAF, have tried it the other way 'round.

**Irmgard:** I can't see the sense of it. I can see nowhere starting-points for it.

**Question:** Don't you fear your attitude will endanger your release and give impetus to those politicians who reject Kinkels line anyway.

**Irmgard:** This danger exists as long as we are not willing to manoeuvre. And we'll never do that.

**Question:** Don't you see any reasons to revise the old concept of the enemy in Kinkels venture, that is of course a break in the state's dealing with the RAF?

**Irmgard:** Sure, in any case. But for that the confrontation has to be withdrawn a bit more from both sides. What RAF has declared is important to the state anyway: That he hasn't to fear attacks now.

**Question:** What do you expect as consequences?

**Irmgard:** The release for all of us, no matter if one has been captured 5 or 20 years ago and regardless of judgements like for instance seriousness of guilt. This judgements will not work anyhow because we have determined the actions collectively and done them between us.

**Question:** How do you imagine it? The respectively responsible courts decide about the discharge of prisoners.

**Irmgard:** One consequence has to be that the state don't insist on

letting us out seperated by those courts. Now a situation is existing wherein a real solution has to be brought about. That means we all have to be released in a period of one or two years. That's how we do imagine it.

**Question:** That would be illegal. Should all get pardoned by the President then?

**Irmgard:** I don't know how it should work concretely. I can only say what



Banner 1986

asked the victims relatives for forgiveness at TV. Can you imagine such an apology for yourself?

**Irmgard:** No, absolutely not. And I also believe that the whole thing was arranged. But I also didn't feel like thinking Lotze is a pig: I rather thought: What are they doing to him? The programme was really arranged with the Federal German Bar according to



cannot work. But I also cannot imagine to be introduced to the President and have to say that and that.

**Question:** Do your demands also include the RAF command level members who are still searched for? Do you expect amnesty for them?

**Irmgard:** No, I haven't thought of that.

**Question:** Do you really know someone of these members of the third or fourth RAF-generation personally?

**Irmgard:** Do you mean if I know the individual militants? No, I don't.

**Question:** The security authorities maintain that attacks have been planned and directed out of the cells. According to the motto: The heads are inside the prisons and the manual workers outside.

**Irmgard:** That's not true. This assertion had always just this function: To criminalize the best-known prisoners as those who are the only ones who want to and can wage this struggle at all. All others should be presented as manual workers and recipients of orders.

**Question:** Haven't there been at least recommendations from the prisons to the scene outside.

**Irmgard:** When the militants out there have made attacks it had influence on our situation, on everything. But we never said: Do this or do that. It doesn't work like that at all.

**Question:** Ms Möller you are the Stuttgart-Stammheim prison drama only survivor, when according to the inquiries results the RAF foundation members Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan Carl Raspe have committed suicide in the night to October, 18th. You yourself went into hospital with serious injuries and support RAF-version that it has been murder.

**Irmgard:** That's no version but a fact to me. The last 15 years I had no opportunity to speak about that. I haven't seen the records, didn't get the testimonies made in front of the investigation committee, still not even get to see the final report. Me myself brought in a murder charge but the proceeding was abandoned at once.

**Question:** So according to your memory, what has happened in that night in Stammheim?

**Irmgard:** We have been in single cells at the 7th floor, the cells next door were empty. Of course I knew that a Lufthansa airplane was hijacked, to reach our release. But I also knew that GSG 9\* was on its way to assault the airplane. \*GSG 9 (Border guard group 9) = special federal police group, trained for "anti-terrorism" interventions

**Question:** The authorities are of the opinion that you have heard about the airplanes storming and the hostages liberation and after that have attempted suicide with a cutlery knife.

**Irmgard:** This is a lie. At 11 p.m. I've

listened to the last news. I knew something will happen now, a decision is made there. But I didn't know which one. That was unbearable to me. Then I felt asleep.

**Question:** And then?

**Irmgard:** At some time I heard a kind of muffled noise I couldn't identify. A vehement noise. I haven't thought about a shot, it sounds more like a cupboard falling down or something like that. And then my next perception was me laying under neonlight in the corridor, getting grasped everywhere by people who opened wide my eyes. Then I heard a voice: Baader and Ensslin are dead. After that everything is gone.

**Question:** From what time on do your memory start again?

**Irmgard:** I first regained consciousness three days later at the intensive care unit. From that time on I've a continuous memory again.

**Question:** What kind of injuries have you got?

**Irmgard:** Four stabs in the chest. The lungs were hurt and also filled up with liquid from the pericardium which was hurt too.

**Question:** Several medicine experts, some of them from foreign countries, have come to the conclusion that your companions deaths has been suicides.

**Irmgard:** I know. They of course haven't been objective but were brought in just for that. I know details of the autopsy reports and know f. ex. about an injury of Gudrun that has never been investigated at all.

**Question:** Who do you think has caused the injuries?

**Irmgard:** I don't think the warders have done it who run around there immediately. I believe it has been done by a commando. There are anyway different entrances to the prison section.

**Question:** Even former RAF comrades doubt your account. Monika Helbing f. ex. has called the murder-version a lie. In reality it should have been a propaganda action, the so-called operation "suicide action", with the aim to show the deaths in Stammheim as "Reaction of the fascist State". Also Susanne Albrecht and Ralf Friedrich (former RAF militants, captured in GDR after GDR's break-down) have expressed themselves similarly.

**Irmgard:** And why are they doing that? They all are people who lived unknown in GDR for a long time, were captured then and want to make profit now from that state-witnesses thing. They are telling such stories now because they have nothing else to offer, nothing else to give evidence.

**Question:** Are all those who retired from RAF traitors to you?

**Irmgard:** All these years they have lived in GDR the were no traitors. Now

they are traitors. They surrender and are driven to venality. This was absolutely not necessary. Some of them could be free since a long time if they hadn't incriminated each other. And then they incriminated others of us who shall get new trials now.

**Question:** You yourself haven't got venal as you call it and have paid a lot for it. Did you ever regret that you went underground by the age of 24 and have decided on armed struggle with all consequences.

**Irmgard:** Not at all, at no time.

**Question:** You could have lived a completely different, also a bourgeois live. You could have had children, family.

**Irmgard:** I have had to forget all that what were the most important points to me then. The situation in Germany wasn't that kind to have children and to live within the resistance.

**Question:** Don't you perhaps cling to your identity as a resistance fighter for the reason of psychological self-protection? Otherwise all your personal sacrifices would of course have been senseless.

**Irmgard:** This is an absolutely wrong formulation of the question. I don't want to live a different live at all. If I would only cling to my aim by reasons of self-protection I would be inflexible and incapable and couldn't think no more. Then I would have stopped, would be clinged. You cannot survive that way.

**Question:** Are you possibly afraid of freedom?

**Irmgard:** I'm really no prisoner by nature. This is of course absurd. Of course I want to get out of here and work politically outside again. I will not go into illegality but have a political practice on other levels and offer resistance.

**Question:** How do you imagine the "political struggle" you want to wage in the case of your release?

**Irmgard:** So, I imagine to have a lot of discussion, to travel about the cities, to look at different political groups. That I will orientate myself absolutely new and find out what is really existing. F. ex. I would like to speak to the people who mobilize against the WES (World Economic Summit). I can't imagine any parliamentary form. This is excluded.

**Question:** Do you also have very personal aims for a live in freedom, who are not connected to political struggle?

**Irmgard:** Nothing that stands in contradiction to the political struggle. I don't feel the need to lay anywhere at the strand, absolutely not.

Spiegel: Ms Möller, we thank you for this dialogue.



## Interview with Four Women Political Prisoners in Lübeck, Germany

Remark from the four women prisoners to the newspaper which transcribed and published it: We wanted also with this interview to reach people who don't know anything about us, who maybe have only seen or heard the twenty years hysteria campaign against us. So we consciously didn't do this as part of the left debate.

ALL FORTY MUST BE RELEASED!

Gabriele Rollnick: We are certainly not the forces who have an interest in things continuing as they have been until now. Those are the forces in the State's apparatus. They want to continue in the old way. Then-o.k. so it is like that again. We prisoners have struggled for twenty years, and we will also struggle the next twenty years. That is not the point here.

"We have decided to take back the escalation from our side. That means that we will stop attacks on leading representatives of the economy and the state for the now necessary process." (quote from the Red Army Fraction declaration of April 10, 1992)

"The decision of our comrades is correct. It has nothing to do with 'tactics.'" (quote from statement of Irmgard Möller for the prisoners from the Red Army Fraction and the Resistance from April 15, 1992)

### The RAF and the Resistance

Oliver Tolmein: Who is actually this group "prisoners from the RAF and resistance?"

Irmgard Möller: That is the prisoners from the RAF who were fighting in the RAF before they were captured. The others are ones who were struggling from the (public) resistance--militantly--or those who were sentenced for that.

O.T.: Do all the prisoners from the RAF still consider themselves part of the Red Army Fraction, or is it totally different now?

I.M.: We consider ourselves as part of the resistance again. At the time one is arrested and no longer has a weapon, and is as legal (above-ground,trans.) as anyone can be, one can no longer struggle as the RAF, because one has been captured. One is still a part, though no longer part of the organization.



O.T: In the last year, the Federal Prosecution Office has confiscated extensive collections of files and papers from prison cells with the argumentation that actions of the RAF outside were being directed from the prisons.

I.M: From the very beginning, since we have been prisoners, it has always been the case that the Federal Prosecution-- or the whole state machine-- claimed that the prisoners were directing things outside. That is supposed to legitimate the measures against us. That was the official line to justify them isolating us, why they treated us like that.

Christine Kuby: Anyway that is supposed to convey the message that there is no real continuity between the resistance and the struggles on the outside, but that the only continuity lies in the fact that the prisoners are pulling the strings.

O.T: And the others were, so to say, the handymen. . .

C.K: Exactly. And that was simply not the reality. And still isn't.

O.T: Is there actually any coordination or contact between you here in prison and the RAF on the outside?

I.M: No direct contact. There is no direct exchange. We can find out what they have done and can relate to that through letters or react through what we say. But we cannot talk directly to them.

G.R: The RAF and us--we are in the same political situation, but in different places.

O.T: How far does this term resistance extend? For example, the anti-nuclear movement, is it part of it or. . .?

I.M: They certainly belong to it.

G.R: In any case, we feel connected with this resistance. As we said, it's not just a matter of an organization. We also had groups in the society who supported us, or who saw the situation in a similar way to us, but who didn't make the move of going underground. They tried to change things legally--from the public movement. And they certainly also felt a connection to us. They also visited us later in prison.

We were never really away from society and we could always, even with the isolation in prison, make a picture of the development on the outside. At least we struggled for that.

Hanna Krabbe: Society has changed and the struggles have changed. And as political prisoners we were always a factor in the struggles against the State. We developed that always essentially out of our own situation, out of our situation as political prisoners.



Daily Life in Prison

O.T: Do you sometimes talk about something entirely different, which maybe could also, shall we say, bring new or totally different impulses. I don't know, maybe what books you have read. . .

I.M: Absolutely. We talk about the books we have read in the evenings. Or movies we have seen or. . . one shouldn't imagine that we just sit here and discuss political problems all day. We aren't functionaries. We also look at picture books together, or art books. Or we cook together--that's something also important.

C.K: But that is only for the last three years.

H.K: But that is extremely important.

I.M: That we can eat together.

O.T: What do you like to cook best?

G.R: Split pea soup. (laughing)

O.T: Is that what you like to cook best? Or is it the only thing you can cook?

C.K: No, we can cook, but we can't have so many possibilities of what to cook. We can buy fresh vegetables once a month and they have to be cooked right away or they go bad.

H.K: But cooking and eating and talking with each other and communicating--that is something really important. You taste something--that is also an experience of the senses. When you only sit in a cell for years and get food from the prison and you are alone you can't even taste anything anymore. In the first place everything tastes the same anyway, but you also don't taste any difference at all anymore. It has been quite an enriching experience here to cook again for ourselves.

O.T: Do you cook every day?

All: Yes; when possible, yes always.

I.M: Or we take the things we get from prison and change them if we don't have things of our own.

O.T: What do you like to read. What sort of books do you look at?

I.M: That's actually quite a broad spectrum. When I was first captured I read everything imaginable. Without a plan, without an idea of where it would lead. And then I read a lot of novels for a while--especially those where liberation struggles were portrayed culturally. Novels by Palestinians. Those are rare and contemporary--ones which have been written recently because they used not to write novels. Or there are a lot of things from Latin America. And sometimes real dry stuff--theoretical, economic, analyses, whatever. . .

But there are always phases where one just can't comprehend abstract things--



one simply can't read them.

H.K.: In 1977, for example, when the prison conditions were especially hard, when we hardly heard anything from the outside, I only read novels. Simply to experience warmth and human development. All types of novels, actually. From other countries, other cultural circles, but above all novels where the development of the people in them was comprehensible or imaginable for me. I simply wasn't able to read any other things at that time.

"For various reasons we no longer developed an attraction for people here, making it no longer possible to act together. We have seen as a central mistake the fact that we moved too little towards those who have started to stand up here and not at all towards those who have not yet started to stand up." (quote from the RAF declaration from April 4, 1992)

"Nothing Political will Develop Through Violence Anymore"

I.M.: I thought that it was absolutely important for us to say what we thought so that there would be no room for speculation since there is always that basic attempt to play us off against each other.

O.T.: Who against whom?

I.M.: The prisoners, or some of the prisoners against other prisoners, or the RAF against the prisoners or everyone against everyone.

G.R.: Hardliners against softliners.

I.M.: Yes. Those are all constructions and fabrications which have absolutely nothing to do with reality. And that's why I was in such a hurry.

G.R.: Of course, we weren't able to discuss that with each other in any way in such a short time. But we were sure that the other prisoners and us, that we all have similar thoughts.

I.M.: . . . that there is a consensus and that there are no contradictions around this issue.

G.R.: So that's why Gabi (Irmgard Möller) could state that clearly <sup>trans.</sup> for us all.

O.T.: In order to be able to make a clear picture of how that works. Was it like this? That you, Mrs. Möller formulated that and intuitively had the impression that the others would also see it like that. And therefore you made the statement for all?

I.M.: I was simply certain.

H.K.: Intuitively isn't exactly the right word--it is more rather the stand of our discussion.

C.K.: Yes--that came out of our discussions.



H.K.: It has been clear since the mid 80's to the end of the 80's that a worldwide turnover was taking place, that this front against imperialism was stagnating. The socialist states then broke down in the confrontation with the imperialist military policy, but also primarily on the internal contradictions. So now we have a totally different global situation. Everything that now develops against imperialism doesn't develop along a front from inside and outside, but rather on the actual contradictions within the imperialist system itself.

O.T.: Could you maybe describe more exactly what role the breakdown, or the dissolving, or the socialist state system played for armed struggle in the FRG?

C.K.: It certainly also had internal effects, the breakdown of the socialist camp. Also in a positive way. Certain rigid ways of thinking--many were only counting on them as a force to oppose imperialism and which would hold it in check. That was no longer realistic. Rigid ways of thinking from those who were not struggling out of their own conditions or out of their own needs. People who wanted a different society, but who somehow delegated that. That is no longer the case.

I mean in the RAF declaration it states: "Each one is thrown back on himself."

G.R.: When we began the struggle here it was clear that there was an opposing side. We were part of a struggle taking place worldwide in which the socialist states played a role, the liberation struggles and us inside of imperialism. And now that State socialism has broken down, that has, of course, totally changed. And that means for us the conditions under which we are struggling. . . the struggle today is taking place under different conditions.

H.K.: In the 60's and the 70's (in the 80's it had already stopped) the state tried to improve the system through reforms. Today the state is disintegrating. For example, one sees that in health insurance or in apartment construction: people are being excluded, problems are being taken over from the state and left to the "free market" and the people have to just deal with that themselves. That is a totally different situation.

We always directed our attacks on the state because the state had this function of determining the societal development.

O.T.: Those are more political and strategic considerations than saying we think attentats or killing people is wrong in principle.

H.K.: I don't think one can principally respond to something like that. But what, for example, has also changed is the function of the state, and also the function of violence. What we are now seeing in society is an incredible brutalization, brutalization in daily life, how societal conflicts are dealt with--how they are unpolitically dealt with. So people turn the violence which



they are confronted with coming from the changed conditions in society against each other. For example, especially against children, or women, or foreigners. The violence which was something exceptional in the 60's and 70's and which from our side had a particular function of exposing contradictions in society, to heighten them and make them visible, this violence can today no longer have this function. We have seen that in the last actions of the RAF and also in the militant actions: they happen, but nothing develops on them politically. And that has something to do with the conditions of society.

G.R.: We are in the process of even trying to understand the situation. It is clear for us that we won't be able to completely comprehend the situation from prison. We don't get the sensory input. We get information from the newspaper and through the television and then we see there are unbelievable problems. We see them; We didn't know such problems before and we must deal with them differently than we have up until now.

And I see that now as our discussion here, without our being able to say that is something definite--we are trying to learn, to look, to understand.

To come back now to the statement from the RAF, it's the same. They are saying that for us it is the break, we are stopping the attacks now, we are taking back the escalation. To that point we say: one can only do such attacks when one has a concrete idea of what one wants, how one wants to change the situation. If that vision is no longer there, then one cannot do these attacks.

O.T.: Why is the RAF realizing that now and not, for example, before the attack on Mr. Rohwedder? Was there still a clear vision then?

G.R.: In the declaration, as far as I can remember, they say they have been trying for two years.

I.M.: parallel . . .

G.R.: to <sup>make</sup> political process.

H.K.: They said they continued doing actions, armed actions, and tried at the same time to get a process of discussion going. And they said that it doesn't work simultaneously because the actions cause an escalation which contradicts this discussion process and blocks it. In any case, they didn't bring this process of discussion further. That is a fact. And from that they drew the consequences. And we think that that has brought us much closer to the basic problems of how to find political solutions. We are being confronted with much more basic questions. That is not only a problem of the RAF, but a problem of all.

"They will not step back on any point by themselves. Pressure from society and struggles for our demands will always be necessary for that."

(quote from the RAF declaration of April 10. 0992



"Counter-Power from Below?"

O.T: Is the left an outdated concept for you, or is that no longer who you want to appeal to?

H.K: The left as such doesn't really exist anymore. It dissolved itself also through the radical change that took place. There are many types of resistance in this society and people who have come together because they have come to a place in their lives where they are only able to get through their needs and interests by coming together.

O.T: When one now quite polemically asks: But is there still a right-wing? Or do you think they don't exist anymore either?

H.K: Of course

I.M: Yes, there is one.

H.K: But there has been no left wing force. 1989, 1990, 1991--where was it? The state grew incredibly more powerful and the left was paralyzed, disoriented, unconsciousness.

O.T: What would you describe yourselves as when you say the left doesn't exist anymore today? One always said classically that the RAF, or the prisoners from the RAF, belong to the left, are a part of it.

I.M: We said in 1989 that we want to bring about a process in which the left can put itself together again anew, because it already no longer existed as something visible or as something which one could consider as a united force. One can see that certain positions have completely disappeared from the media. How people seeking asylum here are dealt with, or how certain conflicts are not solved--that there has been a backslide. That the former left intellectuals are no longer visible. They can no longer articulate themselves. And that gives an overall impression that they no longer exist. And certainly not as a force in society.

O.T: You said before that the break down of the socialist states also had something to do with the internal conditions. Do you think that this is also the case with the West German left?

H.K: Yes, definitely.

I.M: That's always so when something breaks down brought about by external influences. If it were OK from within then it wouldn't break down. I think that's real basic.

O.T: Do you have an idea what it could have been--which root was rotten there?

G.R: Yes, maybe that the left didn't really ever connect what they wanted politically different with their own lives. That there was a big gap between what should be different in society and the goals and how they really lived.



Thus, they hadn't really created an upheaval in themselves. And through that, ideology and ideological contradictions become so important, because there is something fundamentally wrong.

H.K.: Or they stayed within such a ghetto where it had no societal relevance. So, for example, there would be discussions or newspapers or leaflets which no longer got anything in society moving. They were purely self pre-occupation.

G.R.: Where one wouldn't take a look at the people one wanted to work with and then consider what one could do with them, what could be a common denominator. Rather, the only important thing would be if someone had the right opinion.

H.K.: I think that is too limited; if I now say we should take a look, for example, at what the people in the houses are doing, where people have struggled to create their own centers for living and meeting and discussing in squatted houses.

O.T.: . . . Hafenstrasse. . .

H.K.: or the Hafenstrasse, or someplace like that. That's part of it, but I think that's still too restricted. I would like it to be more broad, right through the breadth of society.

For example, what happened in Hamburg around the Stresemannstrasse.

O.T.: . . . when the street was blockaded.

H.K.: Yes. Trucks are barrelling through there along a residential street. That is the most travelled street in all of Hamburg and there have already been a few children run over on it. Onetime the people who live there simply said-- now that's enough. And so they closed the street, blocked traffic and then an incredible thing happened. Then they contemplated the traffic policies and realized that when the street is closed that their children can play in the street. Or that the women and men who live there realized that they could go onto their balconies again--which wasn't at all possible before because the air was so dirty. So that's quite a few problems onto one small point: a street where a child was run over. The entire societal organization-- how traffic is organized here, how communication is organized, or rather not organized, where do people still have a place in the areas in which they live, and how they can create one--all these questions were brought into it from the very first.

#### 1977: Murder of Schleyer--Death in Stammheim

I.M.: I don't know the details of what happened--that is how, or who, because I have never seen the files. I can tell about that more exactly in a minute.



I know we didn't do it ourselves, that we didn't have any weapons. And that I was brought unconscious onto the intensive care unit and that I then came to after a few days.

I am absolutely sure that it was murder. We were under total contact ban at that time.

O.T.: What does that mean-contact ban?

I.M.: Contact ban means that the prisoners are totally isolated from each other and from the outside. No letters go out, there are no visits. Even visits with a doctor are not private. There is someone from the state police there watching. Before that, we had really lived together and then we weren't even allowed to come in contact with the same objects. They applied it extremely rigidly.

O.T.: In order to claim that it was suicide?

I.M.: Yes. And in general--to be able to do that and later to present it as suicide.

O.T.: Other former members of the RAF said that there were discussions about suicide as a collective act. Can you imagine that?

I.M.: I can't imagine that at all. We had started a hunger strike during the contact ban in order to give a signal that we wanted to live, we wanted to struggle. We never had such discussions.

We wanted to live.

O.T.: Would you say that the situation in the fall of '77, the situation between you and the state was particularly escalated?

I.M.: Yes, that was the absolute high point. Everything that came after that related back to that.

We didn't want things to escalate anymore, to become overwhelming, for people to be presented with a fait accompli that they couldn't deal with because that would be too heavy that no one would be prepared for it. And then politics got left out, and everything became quite militarized--from both sides--we wanted to avoid that.

That's why we suggested that if they let us free we would not come back into the FRG--that we would stay somewhere else either in Western Europe or somewhere else--that we would, of course, continue to struggle politically, but not armed, at least not those who were set free. But they didn't agree to that.

O.T.: You said you wanted to prevent the situation from becoming militarized on both sides.

G.R.: That also means to keep it under control, not to let it move off into a direction. . .

I.M.: of a forced reaction/counterreaction where no one has it under control anymore.



O.T. What is your judgement about the murder of Hans Martin Schleyer?

I.M. That was certainly not just a reaction. I don't think so. Revenge actions would have looked very different.

H.K. I imagine acts of revenge like this: blind. If someone would have just walked into the next police station with a machine pistol, for example, I would consider that revenge. If you wouldn't even think about who you are fighting against, but merely attack whatever looks anything like the state.

O.T. Have you ever considered the scenario--what would have actually happened if the RAF had let Schleyer go? At least in the escalated and intense situation that would have come across relatively humane.

H.K. After the prisoners were dead?

I.M. I think that wouldn't have been possible. One could play that through like that but--I don't know.

O.T. Do you consider that unimaginable in the situation as it was then?

I.M. Yes, because in the fact that the prisoners were dead it was clear that the government could do without Schleyer--that was clear.

O.T. But which doesn't have to mean that the guerilla organization then has to do it.

I.M. Yes, of course, I don't know. It is hard for me to talk about that.

"Those not fit for imprisonment and the prisoners who have been in for the longest time must be released immediately and all the others must come together until their release." (quote from the RAF declaration of April 10, 1992)

### Prison Conditions

I.M. Before we were captured, we had already thought about the fact that they would deal with us differently than they had three years before when people from the student movement were captured. That wasn't very extraordinary then. We knew about the experiences of Fritz Teufel or other individual people, individual students or people who had been arrested then. There wasn't anything in particular in that direction then.

We figured that we would be beaten--that we would be physically tortured. And then we found out that that didn't happen, but that they had thought up something for us--later we found scientific research about it--which was much more subtle and much more difficult to talk about and even for us, it was months actually years, before we understood what it was. That isolation is torture and that it has the same function as physical torture. Not to get immediate information, but rather, over a longer period of time, to rob individual prisoners of



of their identity, their whole personality. To turn them around.

O.T: Isn't it much more banal to imagine that they said we now have particularly dangerous prisoners here--the RAF tried to liberate prisoners, the June 2 Movement tried also to liberate prisoners, that they thought they therefore had to have particular security measures?

I.M; No. No way. That was never actually about security. They said two years later that it was a matter of turning us from our goals. We realized that much too late. Ulrike was in the dead tract, and before that Astrid Proll was in the dead tract, and we didn't even know it. We didn't realize what that does. We saw that she couldn't write anymore, that her circulation had collapsed, that she was totally disoriented--Astrid Proll. But we realized too late that it is torture and must be attacked in that way. We would have intervened differently if we had known that before. We experienced it on our own bodies that that was true.

In 1977, for example, I was under continual observation--light<sup>on</sup> day and night, total control, always a guard in front of the door who always watched out and if I went into the corner, they tore open the door to look what I was doing in the cell.

I.M; In the beginning I didn't have a door, only a heavy wire screen and bars like an animal cage. And then they set up an actual podium outside so they could see me at eye level day and night. And they sat there--two of them, and talked to each other. I didn't have a radio, nothing with which I could block that out. I then developed mechanisms of how I could move, but I was continually under observation.

I didn't get any information, no visits, then the dividing partition was put in for all. I didn't get any visits anyway, and the few there were were impossible from behind the partition. Then I didn't do any visits anymore. For years. I thought I was really supposed to go crazy--forget everything and flip out.

CK: In the 80's three of us were here in this tract for years. We were cut off from everything. We didn't see anyone. We had one one-hour visit behind a glass partition per month, and otherwise there was nothing. There was simply nothing there. We weren't allowed to write other prisoners. as Gabi said, for years.

O.T: What are your prison conditions concretely at this time?

I.M: They have gotten better.

C.K: The things which have changed in our conditions, our conditions here in Lübeck, have in the other prisons for the individual prisoners not changed at all. They are, after ten years, still under incredibly harsh conditions. For example, Brigitte Mohnhaupt and Christian Klar who have been



prison since 1982. For them, nothing, or almost nothing, has loosened.

I.M.: What has changed is the censorship. Not so much is being held up as before and not so much is being confiscated. Of course, it is still being sent through the censorship, but we receive it. It is no longer held back from us. And it has changed that now we can have an hour of yard exercise every day with the other women prisoners here--the social prisoners.

O.T.: Social prisoners?

C.K.: The women who are here in prison whom we never saw for years. We heard nothing, no face, nothing. For three years we have been able now to do this.

O.T.: How is your relationship to them? Do you have good contact to them?

I.M.: We had good contact at one time. Then they were released. There is a large fluctuation, since they have shorter sentences.

H.K.: And also it is limited. We live in a totally different place. We live in this tract and therefore also have to deal with the prison system: it is always a particular regime. We only experience the other prisoners who are in general population for this one hour. We cannot really communicate with each other. If we did more together, we would also have to deal with things here together, but that won't work since they have much different conditions. It is difficult because of that.

O.T.: Would you like to be integrated into such a prison situation as that?

C.K.: No, I wouldn't. I have quite a bit of contact with the women and I see how difficult it is after all these years of isolation. Not to simply have some sort of superficial relationship with the women--I wouldn't be able to do that any more.

O.T.: Would you say that isolation has effects that still continue?

C.K.: Yes, definitely. I think that will still be a long process to regain the abilities lost through these conditions and I think that is only possible on the outside. I cannot imagine changes in the prison conditions which could make regeneration of the whole personality possible.

"Minister of Justice Kinkel has made it open for the first time from the side of the state that there are fractions inside the apparatus which have understood that they are unable to get the resistance and the contradictions in society under control with police and military means." (quote from the RAF statement of April 10, 1992)

#### All 40 Must Be Released

H.K.: We haven't really gotten that far--to the point that it's really a matter of all of us, about the whole political collective. First of all



because of the prison conditions which we are subjected to and then also what we want politically. We want, after all, to be able to act upon that which we have gained through the struggle up to now--what we have gained in consciousness and in understanding of the situation. (We also see that that is absolutely impossible in prison.) That is the second reason we say all of us have to come out. Because we want to deal politically on the outside.

O.T: What do you think are the stages toward that?

I.M: We think that altogether it can happen in a time frame of one or two years, for example. And of course that the state won't just come and let all 40 of us out. . . exactly how it will happen, I don't know that yet. The important thing is that a decision be made and that it be possible to look toward that. That they are willing to do that. Then we can see in which stages it will happen. For example, the ones who have been in the longest, they come after the ones not fit for imprisonment. First the ones not fit for imprisonment and then the ones who have been for more than 15 years, and then all the ones who have served 2/3 of their sentence and then so on. All of us--that is.

O.T: Minister of Justice Klaus Kinkel has brought this concept of reconciliation into discussion. Is that something you would subsume that under?

I.M: I would not use the word reconciliation because for me that expresses the possibility of them accepting us as a political collective. Reconciliation--one cannot really use that word, that doesn't make sense to me.

O.T: Would you not like to reconcile yourselves with the state either?

I.M: I don't see at all how, what for. I can't imagine that.

H.K: I think this concept isn't actually so important. It has become incredibly polemic, if one may do that or not. . .

I.M: But it has become so polemic because something else comes across, namely the possibility of accepting us as a political opponent--or the fact that we are one.

O.T: But that would also possibly imply that you expect to play by the existing political rules in this country.

G.R: We recognize that, we have to recognize that; they have also recognized that for a long time now. But that doesn't mean to agree to them, but rather--that is a process we are in now and we are trying to influence it.

H.K: This whole concept, political rules in this country, what is that? The rules of the rulers? But actually there are other political rules.



O.T: So, as, for example, the Minister of Justice of Schleswig-Holstein Klinger (the German state where the women are in prison, trans.) has said, it won't be as a final stroke, but rather a further development. . .

All: Yes, both.

I.M: Final stroke is also true, if it were possible.

G.R: When we say a break, that is what that means. But not a final stroke in the sense of--now throw it in the garbage, but rather to come onto a new level.

H.K: To come to a new level. When the state says that, the Minister of Justice, then I understand it to mean that there should be an end to this continuity of the state of emergency state, martial law, exceptional treatment of us. Of course, I agree with that.



*Following photos from the*

DEMONSTRATION IN BONN, capital of Germany, JUNE 1992:

FREEDOM FOR THE POLITICAL PRISONERS!





Parole on the banner:

"We, former prisoners from the guerilla and the resistance, fight for the life and the freedom of the political prisoners"

On the bottom: the photos of all political prisoners who are still in prison.





On the Banner:

"Fight for collectivity - inside and outside of the prisons!  
Joint confinement!"



Former political prisoners Stefan Frey, Gisela Dutzi, Guenter Sonnenberg, Holger Deilke, Monika Berberich and others (from left to right)





Former political prisoners Waltraud Liebenwalder, Guenter Sonnenberg, Monika Berberich (from left to right)





Relatives of the political prisoners



On the banner:

"We relatives of the political prisoners demand:

- Joint confinement of the prisoners of the RAF and the resistance!
- Release of the sick prisoners Bernd Roessner, Ali Janssen, Isabel Jacob!
- Free political communication!"



INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS AGAINST THE MASTERS' WORLD ORDER  
DURING THE WORLD ECONOMIC SUMMIT FROM JULY 3rd to 5th IN  
MUNICH, West-Germany:



Organizers and Participants from the Forum "500 Years of colonialism  
and Resistance" from Kurdistan, El Salvador, Philippines, Puerto Rico,  
US, Turkey, Brazil, Peru, Cuba, Uruguay and Germany.



## International Congress against the Masters' World Order

during the World Economic Summit from July 3rd to 5th in Munich

### Why a Congress ?

The majority of the world population is confronted with the consequences of the existing world order, i.e. with the daily reality of oppression, exploitation, hunger, misery, war and torture. More and more the gap between the rich and the poor is widening; everywhere in the world, the governments are increasingly attempting to "solve" the conflicts in the societies - which are crying out for political solutions - militarily and with police forces - which means that their only interest is to keep the control.

On the other hand, the Left is helplessly facing this development. Old concepts have long proven to be ineffective - and this is especially hard in the face of the permanently tightening conditions, wars, the destruction of nature, racism and sexism, the misery and the exploitation etc. .

The international Anti-Congress wants to offer the opportunity to discuss the structures of the world order, in order to overcome them, to make an analysis of the worldwide situation and to develop a prognosis as well as particularly to learn from the experiences of the grassroots-movements, the liberation movements and the popular movements, in order to work out real solutions for the new period of time.

### A Congress on the Occasion of the World Economic Summit ?

The World Economic Summit is a central institution within the international world order. Since the middle of the seventies the governmental leaders of the seven largest industrial countries ( USA, Canada, Japan, FRG, Great Britain, France and Italy - the G-7 States) have been gathering once a year in turn in one of the respective member states.

Despite the competition among the member states, the summit is a crucial body to determine the guidelines for the world economy to the advantage of the industrial countries and the disadvantage of the so-called developing countries and the (former) Eastern Bloc.

Due to the collapse of the Eastern Bloc and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Summit is taking place in a world situation, which has gone through major changes. The political background of the Summit is also being determined by the 500th anniversary of the conquest and the colonization of the Americas, the realization of the EEC-Internal Market and the UN Conference on "Environment and Development" as well as by the increasing violence from the ruling forces, used as an attempt to keep the catastrophic conditions under control.

These events are to be issues at the International Anti-Congress to the World Economic Summit. The Congress is addressed to a broad, interested public and politically interested and/or active people. The aim of the Congress is to have an exchange and a discussion from below and on the grassroots level - taking the gathering of the ruling forces as an occasion - , in order to overcome the existing order.

### Directions of the Congress:

1. The Congress wants to politically attack and delegitimize the World Economic Summit in a publicly effective manner.
2. Different analytical concepts and the discussions are to determine the responsibility of the governments of the G-7 States for the ruling conditions.



3. The Congress will not have an academical character. Preferably those speakers are invited, who are developing starting points for resistance from their analysis, or who come from liberation movements and grassroots movements.
4. At least 50% of the speakers should be women. The Congress should have an antiracist, antisexist direction from the beginning.
5. Patriarchal structures and sexism have to be identified in all forums. This cannot just be the task of the women or the women's forum.
6. It is aspired to have an equal dialogue between the Resistance in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Oceania, Eastern Europe and migrants on the one hand and the opponents of the world order from the metropolises on the other hand. Where it is possible, migrants and the movements from the Trikont should therefore already participate in the preparations for the Congress. It is also an aim to increase the dialogue between the different social and political movements within the FRG.
7. The respective role of the host country FRG will be an integral issue in the different forums.
8. The role of the EEC will also be an issue for the forums.
9. Human rights violations in the most comprehensive sense, also in the G-7 States themselves, should be addressed in the forums.
10. The Congress is not supposed to be in competition with the demonstration . which means an according timing of the events.
11. There should be a large space to present alternatives, strategies and various forms of resistance for the overthrow of the old "new" world order.

#### **Structure of the Congress:**

On Friday, July 3rd, the Congress will start with a publicly effective event with speakers on the issues: Ecology ( Vandana Shiva, India), World Economy, Eastern Europe ( André Gunder Frank, Netherlands), Racism ( Fathima Hardtman, Roma Movement, FRG) and 500 Years Colonialism/500 Years Resistance.

On Saturday morning, July 4th, the Congress should divide itself into seven forums ( Racism, 500 Years Colonialism/ 500 Years Resistance, Ecology, Women's Forum, World Economy, Eastern Europe, Forms of securing Domination ). The realization of the forums should take into account that especially the international discussion and exchange has broad space.

On Sunday, July 5th, the forums should gather again and during a joint closing session the respective speakers should shortly present the findings, demands and conclusions from the forums.

#### **The respective Forums:**

##### **Forum: Racism/ Migration**

###### **Workshop 1: "Population Policy and Racism"**

Background is the current discussion about population control in association with the debate about ecology and development, which serves as an ideological legitimization for interventions of the North in the South.

###### **Workshop 2: "Open Borders/EEC-Asylum/ The Discussion about Flight Causes"**



How do our social and political ideas and aims in regard to "open borders" look like ? To which extent serves the " fight against the causes for flight in the respective countries" as an argument for the legitimation for a repressive fortress policy ? Who produces flight causes ? Which strategies have been developed by the ruling forces for the preventive regulation of refugee/migration movements ?

Workshop 3: "Racism as Ideology and Domination Instrument for the European Supremacy"

This workshop should critically analyze the thesis that racism is more a cultural than a social problem and the economical analyzing concepts are seen as too one-dimensional.

Workshop 4: "Racism and Sexism"

The main issue will be to find out the common and different characteristics of racism and sexism and their consequences for the struggle against these forms of oppression.

Workshop 5: "Perspectives for Refugee Struggles in the FRG"

The experiences of the refugee struggles in the last year should be discussed and perspectives for the future should be worked out.

#### Forum: Ecology

1. Analysis of the Destruction of Nature:  
locally and globally, by transnational corporations, the Worldbank and development aid.
2. Ecological Colonialism:  
statewide/between states, Ecological concepts from the grassroots.
3. Analysis of UNICED
4. Satisfaction of basic needs, luxury in the metropolises, basic needs of the world population
5. Possibility and limits of ecological concepts within the market economy.

This forum was supposed to be financed and planned by the Green Party and the big environmental organizations ( as you can see from the content of the forum). Since the Green Party has left the Anti-World Economic Summit coalition, this forum will be restructured.

#### Forum: World Economy

1. World Trade Structures , by the example of GATT  
- EEC-Internal Market, EEC Protectionism, Fortress Europe  
Perspectives
2. Debt Crisis  
- current development and situation  
crisis management

Perspectives: Could it be imagined to have democratic control and steering institutions ? Where should they start ? Which models are existing ( oriented



towards the internal market, regional, etc.) ? Control of the transnational corporations, etc. ) ?

#### **Forum: Eastern Europe**

The states of the former real-existing socialism, the bureaucrats and opportunists in the East, were committed to the so-called recovering development. Their disregard for the people and the nature cannot even be justified by the Cold War. After the dissolution of the Eastern Bloc , the people in the new states do not have good perspectives for the future. The Western countries are primarily interested in securing the best markets for themselves.

1. Transition processes in Eastern Europe: Shock privatization as a transition- or a destruction-process ?
2. "East" and "South": Competition, convergence, and/or solidarity ?
3. Analysis and discussion of changes in the power constellation of the world economy and possible contributions of the Eastern European countries for a world economical alternative based on solidarity.
4. International solidarity from below and the possible contributions from Eastern Europe as action orientations in the West/North.

Ideas of and discussions about alternative concepts for the economical, social and ecological development in the East European countries as well as informations about social and political movements and their perspectives for political assertion.

#### **Forum: Forms of securing Domination**

All attempts of single countries to escape this world order have failed in the past. They have failed because of the dependency of all regions on the World Market, the IMF, Worldbank and the military superiority of the European states as well as their willingness to use their military power ruthlessly. The trace of blood stretches from Algeria to Vietnam, over Angola and Nicaragua, Chile and Zaire, to Panama, Kurdistan and the Gulf War. War with modern weapons is genocide. But the Federal Army ( of the FRG) is planning world wide deployments with the aim to become the world police, thereby circumventing the German constitution. Despite the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact there won't be disarmement, but a change in armement: high-tech weaponry, international rapide deployment forces, world wide programs for counter-insurgency.

#### **Forum: Autonomous Women's Forum and Population Policy**

Worldwide the daily life of women is being determined by patriarchal oppression structures. Women do 2/3 of the work, but only get 1/10 of the income and own only 1% of the property. In general they receive 40% less wage than the male worker. In politics, job training, job and in society women are facing various forms of patriarchal violence and discrimination. Women's bodies are also being exploited and instrumentalized. Population control measures such as birth control, forced abortions, forced sterilization etc. are being justified and asserted through massive and premeditated interventions. Women's control over their reproductive ability is being taken away with the help of genetical engeneering and reproductive technologies.



## Forum: "500 Years of Colonialism and Resistance" - "Democracy and Human Rights in the 'New World Order'"

With the conquest of Latin America 500 years ago, the founding stone was put down for the claims on Africa, the Americas, Asia and Oceania, which continue until today. This has meant the destruction of their culture and the natural living resources for the benefit of the continuously growing wealth in the highly industrialized countries. On this basis a worldwide margin of power and wealth is existing which causes disadvantages for the people outside the metropolitan islands of wealth. This worldwide order is being dominated by the G-7 States.

This forum will pick up on the continental campaign "1492 - 1992: 500 Years of Indigenous, Black and Popular Resistance", in which numerous organizations have united in the Americas. It would be wrong to stop with a general historical analysis of this issue. Therefore the forum picks up on the current situation and poses the question of "Democracy and Human Rights in the 'New World Order'". The development towards the current world system and the changes of the last years have imposed limits for resistance processes and liberation processes around the world. They demand an exact discussion and practical processes in the search for new political determinations everywhere.

Terms such as democracy, human rights and self-determination are being used to justify the domination of the G-7 States. The war against Iraq was being excused by the US and the allied war coalition with the assertion of human rights and international laws. Also, development aid (the term itself transports a certain development model) is being bound to the demand for political submission, Western models of democracy etc. . Other ideas, such as a "World Trust Foundation" or a right to intervention based on ecological reasons (keyword: UN-Green Forces) are pointing in the same direction. But the living conditions and the political order in the G-7 States are in a stark contrast to these claims.

The American 500 Years Campaign has stressed one aspect of political repression and resistance in particular - the issue of political prisoners, exemplified by Leonard Peltier, a Native American political prisoner in the US, whose release is being demanded. The forum picks up this initiative and puts it in the context with the treatment of political prisoners in different parts of the world and the human rights situation within the 'New World Order'.

At the same time the struggles for national self-determination, social and political emancipation are facing an increased repression. What kind of ideas are being developed by such movements for their countries and how do they stand up against the claim of Western hegemony? The forum wants to link this discussion with the question of our understanding of human rights, democracy and emancipation.

### The structure of the Forum:

The forum should be influenced by the opportunity for extensive discussion both among the invited speakers as well as with the participants of the Congress. This has resulted in the division of the whole forum into four workshops. Each workshop will have a chairperson. The groups, which have prepared the forum, will participate in the forum with statements, questions etc. ... This has been planned on the one hand, so that there will also be a presence of ideas, thoughts and concepts from the FRG in the discussion. And on the other hand, so that we do not only pose questions to other movements, how they envision the coming years, but that they can also put questions to us. Also, we want an exchange and discussion, that does not only take place from South to North as usual, but also from North to South - based on our responsibility here in the FRG.



The rulers of the seven most powerful states on earth are gathering for a "World Economic Summit" in Munich on 5. 3. July. This summit is taking place on a back cloth of 500 years of colonial barbarity. It is taking place after the collapse of the Soviet Union, in the aftermath of the Gulf War. It is taking place in Germany after swallowing the German Democratic Republic (GDR), in a Germany where there are murderous attacks against refugees. It is taking place in Bavarian Munich, in the High-Tech Weapon Factory of the German Nation, in the state where we saw an inquisition on abortion in Memmingen, and preventive police custody, anonymous compulsory AIDS tests, in the state at the forefront of the official pogroms against refugees. However, Bavaria is also a state, where they once wanted to build an atomic re-cycling plant in Wackersdorf:

NOTHING IS FORGOTTEN!

The summit meeting of the "New World Order" brings us the following message:  
*"Give up all hope of a world living in solidarity. Look at the Soviet Union and look at our armies breaking any resistance. Take the chance that we leave you: Forget solidarity, might is right, dog bites dog. We offer the victors even more cars, nuclear power plants, genetic engineering, sex tourism and police protection."*  
That is the system under this summit: Profit, marketing and exploitation of humanity and nature, male domination over women and racist oppression.

They call it Freedom (we call it: profit's freedom to rule people) and Democracy (we say: the democracy of the rich and powerful against the poor and powerless).  
"Partners in leadership" is demonstrated outwardly, but internally, there is an ever more ruthless fight being waged. They will fight over the massive burden of debt, about handicaps for investment, each other's exorbitant customs duties and interest rates. Perhaps they will even battle publicly over the moving question of who gets which piece of the massive loot to be had from the Ex-Soviet Union. Otherwise, we will see the usual disgusting role playing: Men demonstratively at ease, in control, spouses exuding excitement.

And nothing is lost!

We have not buried the idea that a life without hunger, war, exploitation and oppression is possible for all, and see no reason for funeral dirges. And we want a little more than safe survival for all. We totally reject an "Individual freedom" bought at a price of subordinating people to slavery. We want a collective social life of which each person is a conscious part. We want no divisions, no rifts torn by aggressive competition and scrabbling for property, patriarchal or racist oppression and exploitation, no hierarchies of any kind. We reject a society that judges the value of each person in terms of their usefulness and ability to perform. We want conditions which allow everybody to develop their potential, abilities and needs in this way and with-



out raping the earth. We want conditions where we can all meet each other as concrete and complete personalities and where it is no longer possible to use people as tools. Conditions where many ways of life can develop and compliment each other without economic, social, sexual or cultural exploitation and repression. Finally, we want conditions where no one is overwhelmed, which allow us to formulate common goals and to achieve those goals by collective action.

We are shaped by capitalist society and it's structures have eaten into us. Amongst us too, there are hierarchies, male chauvinism and arrogance towards people of a different color. In order to free ourselves of this, we have to fight on two fronts at the same time: to build our relationships in solidarity, to take back our own heads and hearts AND against the dominating power structures. The one front is at least as hard as the other. Many old ideas of liberation strategies have become brittle in this age of world-wide political changes, new ways have yet to become clear.

However, we will find them in action and thought, struggling and moving ourselves and in serious involvement of all international experiences!

#### 500 YEARS OF REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE

This year sees the 500th anniversary of the conquest of the American continent by white European colonialists. The rulers are using this anniversary to glorify the past and present colonialism. They keep quiet about the fact that their power and the material wealth piled in the metropolis would be unthinkable without the 500 years of plundering and cruel repression in

Africa, Asia and America. The 500 years of colonial history is not by chance culminating in the foundation of the European Economic Community (EEC). The rising European world power will stabilize the neo-colonial conditions and the plundering of the "Third World".

Especially since World War II, many peoples were able to win national independence, but this did not mean genuine de-colonialization. New elites formed in these countries on the basis of dependencies created by colonialism. The drive of these elites for wealth and power coincided with the interests of the banks and companies for a more effective and modern exploitation of resources that are vital to the world market.

#### SCRATCH THE DEBTS AND REPARATION PAYMENTS!

The utilization of these countries was supposed to be further improved in the 70s and 80s by granting them massive credits. The "Debt Trap" closed: The increasing adaptability to a role of supplying the metropolis, falling prices and high interest policies resulted in these countries having to take out more loans. "Debt countries" fell victim to the economic crisis in the industrial countries. Many of them went bankrupt in the 80s. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and bank consortiums came up with "rationalization plans". The usual IMF conditions were: Even tighter limitations on economic activity leading to more exploitation of ever diminishing raw materials, monoculture, and production of luxury foodstuffs for export. The few existing social and welfare programs were cut, capital was freed from import and export controls and "free enterprise zones" were set up without trade unions.

The price paid in terms of human life, drudgery and need just to "balance the books" is very high.

Black Africa is on the verge of becoming a wasteland. The same applies for parts of Latin America. Tiny oases of growth for the world market exist alongside vast areas of destruction. Half a billion people are starving, more than ever before. At the same time there was never before so much material wealth. The "progress" of a century has culminated in epidemics from the Middle Ages arising again such as Cholera. The weakening of populations by poverty and



Overwork is complemented by IMF cost cutting policies: Absolutely minimal hygienic measures to combat disease cannot be paid for. The health programs that already existed have largely collapsed. It is only with the greatest reluctance that the rulers have recognized the existence of global environmental destruction. Now we see eloquent agreement about such problems as the ozone hole and the green house effect, but only because they make others responsible for these problems: There are too many poor people in the world. One of their "solutions": Large scale population control measures such as sterilizing women on Puerto Rico en masse. FIGHT ALL ATTEMPTS TO RESOLVE THE ENVIRONMENTAL CATASTROPHE ON THE BACKS OF THE PEOPLE IN THE "THIRD WORLD"!

SOLIDARITY WITH THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES! SOLIDARITY WITH ALL STRUGGLES FOR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EMANCIPATION!

The heads of this system will never be able to destroy the desire for a humane life in dignity. The international forces for social emancipation will grow from this. Not automatically, but as a process built consciously. We want to be a productive part of this process. International solidarity is the life blood of all liberation processes. We must learn from each other, support each other and fight together to develop new perspectives in the changed international situation. The changes in the world have worsened the conditions for resistance and liberation today. This is something that we experience every day. That has for example, the consequence that a country such as Cuba that refuses to follow the Soviet Union into capitalism is to be forced into submission by increased aggression. The Cuban revolution as an example of a successful liberation struggle and a self-chosen road is to be destroyed. For this reason, we must say today: SOLIDARITY WITH CUBA!

The system that called itself "real and existing socialism" has failed internally and externally as a perspective for the world. In the aftermath of the abdication or desertion of the ruling castes, the stampede of the capitalist world market industries is erasing former real socialist economies. Instead of the promised wealth,

the majority of people in these countries are sinking into growing poverty. The new elites are shooting it out amongst themselves to see who takes over. It is still too early to say, whether the forces of social resistance that are forming can stop the fall into the abyss.

AGAINST THE OLD AND NEW GERMAN SUPER POWER!

Our country is no longer the same as three years ago. The fall of the Wall did not just mean a border disappearing between two states. 40 years of different development and daily life collided with each other. We are going to have to learn a lot to change the capitalist conditions that now exist everywhere.

Germany gave the signal to start dividing up Europe again by swallowing up the former GDR. The goal is to transform Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union into a backyard for Western Europe under German hegemony, similar to the US-imperialism practiced against Latin America. The German Federal Army (Bundeswehr) is to be remodelled as a taskforce for world-wide operations to "maintain free world trade and secure access to strategically important raw materials" (From a Defense Ministry Statement). The massive economic burden of this program is to be borne by workers. Massive intervention in the wage struggles, rises in taxes and other charges and a state policy of high interest rates, the results of which are only too familiar from the USA and Britain: Increased unemployment, more homelessness, exploding rental prices, starvation of communal budgets. A cheap wage area has been created in the former GDR.

Like everywhere the weight of this politics is also carried on the backs of the women. Many women are being driven out of industry and are supposed to cushion some of the misery created by doing more unpaid work (housework, child care). A country is being brought into line politically and culturally. The people are being robbed of their identity and dignity. The country is being flooded with cheap pornography, the popular youth radio channel DT64 closed down. Social centers and the abortion laws are being cut to meet reactionary Western standards. There is a growing resistance to all this. The factory occupations are just one example. For now, the elite



of politicians, capitalists and trade union bureaucracy are still able generally to get away with it. Let us do our part to see that in future, their own brutality hits back at them.

STOP TORTURE AND MURDER!

FREEDOM FOR ALL REVOLUTIONARY PRISONERS  
WORLDWIDE!

Everywhere in the world opponents of the existing order are being persecuted, imprisoned, tortured and killed. Germany is notorious internationally for its treatment of political prisoners. 20 years of solitary confinement, top-security prisons, censorship, special laws and state trials. Nice speeches on the part of government can not change any of this. For over 20 years the political prisoners are fighting with any means at their disposal to prevent themselves from being broken politically. A political solution is called for: THE POLITICAL PRISONERS MUST BE FREED! ALL OF THEM! Without conditions, without state examinations of their political convictions, without "renunciation". Don't leave the political prisoners alone with the government. Let us make this our business too! German maximum security prisons and solitary confinement, police equipment and laws to protect the existing order are flourishing export goods far beyond the borders of Europe. German arms and training for the Turkish colonial forces in Kurdistan and trials against Kurdish freedom fighters in Düsseldorf and Celle are just one example. SOLIDARITY WITH THE KURDISH LIBERATION STRUGGLE!

Stammheim is a stony reality in the deserts of Peru and in Turkey. Guatemalan police trained in Germany are chasing guerrillas and populace with German equipment. The paragraph of political belief 129a is threatening to become the standard for European law.

FOR AN ANTI-RACIST MOVEMENT!

ORGANIZE THE ANTI-FASCIST DEFENSE!

In the streets and in the institutions the old and new nazis feel that their time has come. Large parts of German society have formed a block held together by a popular racism. The wave of brutal violence against refugees that set in even before Hoyerswerda is not over and already the governing parties are starting another pogrom. The Ger-

man government hopes to lead the way in building a "Fortress Europe" by amending the constitution to shut out people driven from their homelands by the West. Social Democrats, Greens and President Weizäcker want to prove that they can organize enough pressure and state persecution to close down - "de facto" - the borders without constitutional changes. Our unconditional solidarity goes out to all refugees. We are against all borders and any selection based on "economic usefulness" or "multicultural enrichment". The support for refugees, for example in Nordenstedt was an important step that we should develop further. OPEN ALL BORDERS!

Only we ourselves can win direct improvements in our living conditions. There are enough reasons to do so. Examples of how would be to occupy houses and centers to live in and fight from, to come together in struggle.

LET'S DO IT OURSELVES!

We don't want to just present the leaders with the consequences of their politics. To act out a sacrificial ritual. There is opposition in Germany. The rulers must have to take us seriously. Perhaps they do almost have a free hand. However, they are not completely free to commit their atrocities. Of course, our action is just a tiny grain of sand in this system, but still it is another grain of sand (hopefully nice and hard and with sharp edges). Rome was also not destroyed in a day!

Kassel, 22.3.92

Federal Anti-Summit Meeting  
of the Radical Left



## A pogrom atmosphere in Germany

At the latest since the night of August 24th, it has become obvious: in the FRG people can be hunted under the eyes of the public, attacks can take place on their safety and their lives, and the German public is still searching for understanding behavior patterns of the perpetrators.

We should remind ourselves of the events in Hoyerswerda, a city in Saxony, one year ago in September 1991. Back then, neofascists were able to attack the local refugee shelter for several nights under the loud applause of the population. The politically responsible district president Schmitz expressed understanding for the perpetrators after the repeated criminal man-hunt. The refugees, who were "too loud, too dirty and too lazy" according to him, to be the culprits. Afterwards one could hearing the loud indignation at the pogrom atmosphere in Hoyerswerda from many, since the mob had gone just a little too far and such inhumane actions are disturbing to the FRG's image abroad. But only few were willing to give concrete support to the refugees, to struggle for their humane treatment and living conditions, for their right to stay in the FRG, for a right to freely choose their place of residence and particularly for their safety. The few anti-racist and refugee-support groups ran against concrete walls even with humanitarian groups, when it came to the concrete political demands of the refugees and their rights as well as their status in this country.

The federal government's "asylum debate" managed to dominate the public opinion. Since the events in Hoyerswerda, the federal government has been putting all its energy into the abolishment of Section 16 of the FRG's constitution. Section 16 guarantees the granting of asylum to refugees in our country. Scarcely a week went by, where the refugees weren't publicly denounced by governing politicians - for example when the politicians complained about the terrible conditions in the mass camps where the refugees have to live - and which are a creation of the federal government. All these public statements have the same tendency: The refugees have to go.

It is always the same message - whether politicians like Berlin's Senator for the Interior is claiming that more refugees equal more crime, or whether politicians consciously force refugees to camp in front of overcrowded reception camps like in Rostock.

The political responsibility for the pogroms lies with those people, who on the one hand prohibit the refugees to work, and then - such as the leader of the CDU/ CSU parliamentary faction Schaeuble - ask: "Why should we demand of our fellow citizens to tolerate, that hundreds of thousands of asylum seekers are being housed and cared for for years with severe financial burdens for the tax-payers?"

The events in Rostock are neither an accident nor do they come unexpectedly. They are the result of a government policy, which ideologically promotes racism. The explanations which have been used as excuse patterns since Hoyerswerda - that the people in the in the ex-GDR are suffering, that their economic and social situation has drastically worsened since the unification - may be



correct, but they do not justify by any means racist acts. The situation of the people in the ex-GDR will not change either, if there was not one single refugee in this country, because refugees are not the cause of these conditions. The citizens of the ex-GDR have been politically and economically deceived, and those who are politically responsible for that deception are the same, who now instigate them against the refugees, in order to divert the attention from themselves and to create scapegoats.

The events in Rostock are also no accident or unexpected, because since Hoyerswerda attacks on refugees or their shelters have been taking place almost daily. The governing forces never clearly politically condemned this fact, nor did an adequate judicial prosecution of the perpetrators take place. The organized neofascist groups were able to develop this seemingly law-free space into their action arena in the course of the last few months - undisturbed and with political backing. The government, the police, the intelligence services and the media so far haven't considered it necessary to seriously evaluate this rising neofascism and its activists - even though the neofascist man-hunt started years ago.

At last, the rising neofascist movement and its activists offered active support with their racist terror for the official government policy. For example, in November 1991 more than 1.200 neofascists could gather undisturbed on a war cemetery in Halbe, a city south of Berlin, in order to celebrate the Waffen-SS in fascist tradition. And in August this year, more than 2.000 neofascists were able to attend a demonstration and rally in Rudolstadt ( in the federal state of Thuringen) for the annual neofascist celebration of the birthday of Rudolf Hess, even though the police had stated beforehand, that they wanted to prevent the neofascists from attending the gathering. This list could be continued endlessly, what is important about it , however, is the fact, that antifascists, who are standing up against the brown mob at these events including in Rostock, are being criminalized by the state apparatus - the police and the courts - as well as by the media.

#### Back to Rostock

The attacks on the central reception camp for refugees in Rostock-Lichtenhagen began on August 22nd, 1992. Organized neofascists in harmony with youths and children were the actors, the citizens applauded. On Monday night, August 24th 1992, the neofascist activists had two hours to attack the refugee shelter freely. The images went around the world. The neighboring shelter for Vietnamese contract workers is burning. The people in the house are desperately running for their lives. The fire-fighters are unable to put out the fire. The police is taking a break. Incomprehensible and all of it live on TV into the living rooms. Just on that morning the special crisis committee had met in Rostock. The Federal Secretary for the Interior, Seitzers, had specifically hurried to the harbor town Rostock to attend the meeting of the committee, Rostock had already become a federal problem since the early Monday morning. The state's reactions to the riots in Rostock were no longer exclusively a matter of the state government



of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and the city government of Rostock. At that point it was also an established fact, that leaders of neofascist groups such as Christian Worch (Hamburg), Ewald Althans (Munich) and Gerhard Endress (Austria), who - apart from their leadership of various neofascist organizations - are all organized as cadres of the Gesinnungsgemeinschaft der Neuen Front (GdNF - Faith Community of the New Front), were actively engaged in Rostock-Lichtenhagen. The alliance between the mob and organized fascists had already formed.

In face of those facts, the only interpretation possible for us is, that here a law-free space was purposefully given to the mob, in order to commit a man-hunt.

When two months before antifascist activists had called for an antifascist rally against a public event by the right-wing extremist organization Deutsche Volksunion (DVU - German People's Union) in Rostock, it had been no problem to mobilize 600 police-officers for the protection of the DVU event.

Also during that night and throughout the whole week, it was mostly antifascists, who had come to Rostock in order to protect and support the refugees, who were arrested by the otherwise inactive police.

From the beginning, the antifascist demonstration in Rostock-Lichtenhagen on Saturday, August 29th, was faced with an incredible denunciation campaign. Already the media's language in the reporting about the fascist attacks had put right-wing and left-wing activities on an equal footing over and over. With the equalization in statements such as "in Rostock leftist and right-wing autonomists" attacked the refugee shelter, politicians and the media on the one hand attempted to make the fascist terror, which once more proved that human lives have no value, look harmless. At the same time those statements also entail the attempt to devalue the political resistance against this fascist policy. The media did not report one word about the antifascist political intent and ideas of the demonstration, and instead reduced it to a gathering of the "violent leftist mob". The police, the politicians and the majority of the media all propagated in undisturbed harmony, that on that Saturday, the "big battle" would take place in Rostock. This propaganda was intended to scare away those people, who wanted to stand up against the pogroms, even before the demonstration and to stop them from participating in the antifascist demonstration. What hadn't been possible during the whole week of the fascist attacks, was all the sudden possible with the anti-fascist demonstration. Not only were police and border police units from all over the FRG called into Rostock. Those 4.000 police also became active: For example, more than 5.000 antifascists from other cities, who wanted to participate in the demonstration, were held up for up to 7 hours at police checkpoints on the highways. Evacuation plans had been prepared for Lichtenhagen.

After a seven hour delay, the demonstration, which had been organized by antifascist and autonomous groups and was endorsed by various trade union groups, the PDS, the Greens and immigrant groups, among others, could start despite the police intimidation



and obstruction. More than 20.000 people, among them international delegations and a bloc of refugees and immigrants, were not intimidated by the state forces. We were able to resist the permanent police provocations and to bring the demonstration to a successful end. We didn't engage in the riot-strategy of the police and didn't give them the images they had hoped for to be able to legitimize a "strong state", more "security laws" etc. .

A small success, but still: given the inhumane events in Rostock we were much too few, who took to the streets, who said a clear "NO" to racism, who want to stop the fascist organizing, who name those who are politically responsible for the pogroms. But hopefully our demonstration has encouraged all those, who had been intimidated by the denunciation campaign, to not bend their backs and not to succumb to the concentrated brown sauce. The right-wing terror against the refugees continues. Every day we hear and read about attacks, about attempted murder. In the village of Kretzin, in the state of Brandenburg, a shelter was burned down; during the same night molotov-cocktails are thrown onto other shelters.

We have to stop that. With our own strength! We have to organize the self-protection with the refugees and to resist any form of racism.

Never again Fascism !